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532 Paraguay have, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes
276 are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
[177] ones.

534 The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also
178 speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-
[192] style instrument no longer in use is the guarapaí, an analogon of the gualambáu of the remote Cainguá groups in Paraguay. The guarapaí, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /224/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacumbú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[535] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacumbú. --

534 At the present time many young people have already
197 bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too
178 has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone.
• [439] Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

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342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs having two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an exception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo, more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoí), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó, and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjý are made with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
179 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
• 439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of traditional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic anti-acculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

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the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published the following telegram on March 21, 1953: "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,' with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

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In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

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The social disorganization that is taking place in the major part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/52 cont./

276 a grill and pulverized between the hands; add ashes of guadjayvi,
[824] guajuvira, but only the external white ash, called hugué; furthermore, ký ỹi or kumbarí, "very sharp pepper" /Port. "pimenta malagueta"/, native to the region, according to the information
[415] of the Indians themselves. Old Dobrizhoffer already mentions that the Caingué (probably Kayová) chewed tobacco /fumo/ that they carried with them in a little bowl suspended at the waist (7).

7. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Apud Métraux, 1928a, p. 117.

They also told me about a chewing tobacco /fumo-de-macaz/ called maxakáro, formerly in use among the Kayová. One takes
[824] the tender leaves of the plant, which are placed on hot ashes and then beaten with a stick of wood. The result is a mass of tobacco /fumo/ and ashes, which is chewed. The facility with which one
[178] nowadays obtains a twist of tobacco /fumo/ for chewing is certainly responsible for the abandonment of maxakáro.

The use of the pipe is less generalized among the Kayová than in the other subgroups of the tribe. It is true that the latter
[439] in large part have abandoned the making of pipes, but in any case they buy the little pipes that are offered in the caboclo stores. One
[192] of the more interesting pieces of the material culture of the Mbüá is the pipe, pétỹgué, of typical form, made of clay or of pine knots. They smoke it in "communist" manner, two, three, or more persons; after a few puffs, the smoker passes it into the hands of his companion. Nowadays many Mbüá, to be sure, manufacture
[192] cigarettes (pétỹ ñomimbiré) with straw, which they prefer to those with paper. Among the Nandéva of the coast I met an old woman who made clay pipes, many of them with a bird-shaped bowl.

276 Among the Mbüá almost everybody smokes, including very
184 young children; once in a while the children will refuse a cigarette,
[192] fearing that they will become dizzy: "tzedjuká." Among the Nandéva it is principally the men who smoke, but also a good part of the women.

2: Schaden--70 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Shad Guarani Shad

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476 491 1177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbyá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbyá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

476 574 273 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbyá). "But they do not slaughter /it/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

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857 155 This in part explains the fact that there is almost no Guaraní childish culture. There are few games that are not reduced to an imitation of the adults' activities. The Mbüá boy already at the age of three begins to practice the handling of the bow and arrow (1);

524 411 1. /The notes for Ch. V appear on p. 84 in the original source./ Some bows and arrows of childish type, acquired among the Mbüá of Rio Branco and given to the Cadeira de Psicologia Educacional /Chair of Educational Psychology/ (Universidad de São Paulo), are half as long as the weapons of the adults, being made of the same material. The bows, of biconvex cut, are strung with embira and adorned with plaiting of mbopará type (taquara /a very strong cane/ and imbé) in traditional patterns; the arrows, with points of monkey bone (káiguasú) or of brejaúba, the black wood out of which the arrow of the adults is also made, are not provided with barbs, but display the common feathering. -- In the coastal villages, these childish weapons underwent a functional change, no longer being made today for the training of the new generation, but for commerce; many purchasers (tourists) preferring them because of the greater ease of transport.

[178] [439]

857 155 he also constructs his little traps of bamboo /Port. jiçara/ early. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha, I saw children play at being hunter and game, the game finally caught in the noose. The Mbüá of Rio Branco have adopted a game of cards, bisca /a game of cards played in Portugal/; men and small boys take part in it indiscriminantly.

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3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are mentioned.[88] It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá* as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.[89]

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required. The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.[90]

Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may have been.

Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned. The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered. Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua,[91] but no other suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows. Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives of bamboo are indicated,[92] but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarabué*, was the primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembeá* ("lip-stone"), which in their case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

[88] Métraux, 1928, p. 130. [89] *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[90] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guaraní women of which the Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

[91] Métraux, 1928, p. 75. [92] *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

allotted work and fields in which it was to be done. The women were often set to weaving cotton on a piece-work basis, an arrangement somewhat like that which characterized the household industry of Europe of the time. Men apparently did the agricultural work (in probable contrast to the aboriginal pattern). Most of the day's activities were directed by the priests, apparently following a strict schedule, and little was left to the will or inclination of the Indians. Under no circumstances were people to leave the reduction without permission. Indians were appointed to various offices, mostly connected with spying, policing, and reporting what were henceforth to be considered crimes and misdemeanors. If in one of the barracks, some nostalgic individuals gave themselves over to practicing the old ways, particularly in matters religious, this might well be reported. The miscreants would then almost certainly be punished. The punishments, through the political acumen of the fathers, were inflicted by minor officials selected from among the native proselytes themselves.

The inculcation of orderliness and obedience to authority was very noticeable in economic matters. The missions were run as ideally as great agrarian enterprises with peon labor could be—from the point of view of discipline, organization, and centralization. Or at least such was the intent. It is not unlikely that some of the opposition on the part of the lay Spanish to the Jesuits and their work in the Paraguayan region may have been based on jealousy and envy of what must have been relatively marked material success. New crops were introduced and new agricultural methods. An attempt was made to bring stockbreeding and the use of the plow and draft animals to the understanding of the Guarani. Surpluses of *maté*, hides, and agricultural crops were produced on a notable scale for trade with the outside world.

"Outside world" was a literal concept not only because of the relative distance of many of the missions from the nearest colonial centers, but also because the Jesuits themselves willed that their charges should be isolated and know as little as possible about what lay beyond their narrow glebes. The Spanish colonials complained that the Jesuits must have mines, treasures, or other secrets since they prevented or impeded the entry of outsiders into their towns. There seems to have been much Jesuit worry that the Guarani would become restless, not so much for the towns of the Spaniards, probably, but for their native forests. Almost everything was done to make it difficult for the natives to return; it was forbidden and attempts were punished, the "savage" way of life was ridiculed and belittled (as well as those who admitted that they still desired it), and training, especially of the young, was directed in a way that would completely unfit the Indians for any other life but that of the missions. The Guarani would be apt neither for the towns of the Spaniards, nor for the *tapéi* of the forests. The mission organization was largely a theocracy, run by priests, and with well developed economic interests.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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*175 have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasion-
648 ally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be
[464] preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestisos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

[496] By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo
[657] centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato. Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[119]

[496] Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred
[361] miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing
• [439] flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

[119] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on these two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porã, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

It is not clear whether any differences exist between the present and the past with respect to individual vs. joint labor in hunting and fishing. Fishing and hunting today are almost exclusively individual affairs, and at most a man will take his wife and children along on an overnight fishing trip; but this may also have been common practice formerly. In one respect alone does it appear certain that some form of joint labor prevailed with regard to aboriginal fishing; this is in the use of fish damming methods and fish poison, clearly activities requiring the cooperative labor of several individuals. The only kind of fishing referred to at Taquapiri in 1943, however, was angling, an individual occupation. The abandonment of former joint methods of fishing is presumably related somehow to the loss or weakening of other forms of joint labor. If joint fishing parties were aboriginally organized within extended families, which seems likely, a relation may well exist between the mutual decrease and abandonment of these social forms.

A certain amount of specialization, which does not appear to have existed formerly, is now present in Cayuá economy. This takes at least two different forms: craft specialization and work alternatives. Work alternatives are in the sense of whether the individual works primarily for himself or for others. Craft specialization is the less important of the two as regards the amount and importance of goods thus produced. Work alternatives are mainly concerned with the *changa*[33] relations existing between a majority of Cayuá men and local Brazilian settlers. The settlers employ these men to work—usually in their planted clearings (*roças*), employment technologically almost identical to the agriculture Cayuá know at home.

Individual craft specialization exists in both men's and women's crafts. It seems to occur in those aboriginal industries, in most cases, which have suffered a decline but whose products are still in some demand by the Cayuá, or sometimes by Neo-Brazilians as well. An example of female craft specialization today is the manufacture of hammocks, which are still widely used by the Cayuá and which also find an occasional buyer among the whites. A number of the younger women, although not all, are unable to make hammocks, or for some reason do not "wish" to do so. Hence they must obtain hammocks for their own use from a woman who can make them and who will do so for barter or for a price—infrequently the latter. The weaving of men's belts is another, although relatively unimportant, specialization among female crafts. Pottery making might also be termed in a sense a specialization, since only a few women practice it; but here is a clearcut instance of an industry that is dying because there is practically no demand for its products. To what extent the same may be true of other specialized industries, except that demand has

[33] "Changa" is a Brazilian regional expression, apparently with a Rio Grande do Sul provenience. In southern Mato Grosso it is widely used by the Cayuá and seems to have the meaning merely of working for hire for another—in their case almost always a Neo-Brazilian. The verb is *changar* or *changuear*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

TRADE WITH NEO-BRAZILIANS

Since there are no records, it is difficult to say exactly how long trade relations with whites have existed. Their beginnings certainly go back as far as the first white goods given to the Indians in exchange for food or for work in the *maté* groves; that may be 200-years ago. The volume of trade between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilian has probably not been important, however, until the last twenty years or so, and until even more recently the Cayuá have found no regular market for anything but their labor.

At the present time there are two aspects of Cayuá-Brazilian trade relations: (a) the Cayuá receiving white goods and (b) the Cayuá trading small amounts of their produce to the whites. We shall consider these separately, though they are, of course, closely related. Some Cayuá now obtain store goods outright, paying in money or bartering for them. Many more work as peons for *patrões*, and the latter themselves obtain from the *bolichos*, or trading posts, small stocks of trade goods of the type that find favor among the Cayuá. Indian demand for trade goods is at least of sufficient volume in most cases to lead the traders to stock special merchandise. The Cayuá either prefer this merchandise because of lower price, because of different tastes and lack of discrimination, or they become victims in having the merchandise palmed off on them. Examples of such special "*bugre*" (pejorative term for "Indian") merchandise are an inferior grade of cord tobacco which none of the settlers would use (because it was for Indian consumption, perhaps, if for no other reason), garish colored materials for clothing, tools of inferior quality, and outlandish men's felt hats.[38] But whatever the shoddy merchandise they are obliged to accept, and however much they may sometimes be cheated in their dealings with Neo-Brazilians, there is no mistaking that the acquisition of trade goods is now very important to the Cayuá.

There is a sizeable list of goods which the Cayuá obtain entirely from Neo-Brazilians, and these they seem to feel are either indispensable or at least are goods without which they could not conveniently get along. They include cloth, thread, needles, occasionally a pair of scissors (not every family has a pair), salt and rough cake sugar, soap (for washing clothes primarily, although native plants are known of which the saponaceous roots can be used), tools (principally agricultural), and iron pots and metal basins. Some meat and "lard" (usually tallow) are occasionally acquired, though trade in these items is not very regular—even less so away from Brazilian villages large enough to afford a butchery. The most frequent source of meat and lard is the *patrão*

[38] Among the Cayuá in 1943 there were none but machetes of Brazilian manufacture, very poor—little better than iron; implements no Brazilian would use if he could avoid it. The better grades of imported tools, Collins (American) and "*Jaure*" (Birmingham) were not unknown among the white settlers. However, the apparent conclusion is that the Indians are in no position to obtain the best, even more so when the best is in short supply.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

rather than the *bolicho*—for the little meat not obtained by Cayuá themselves through hunting. Cheap felt hats are used by a number of grown men, probably a majority, and women much appreciate colorful head cloths to use as bandanas. Such "luxury" or non-essential items as shoes, usually for men but occasionally for women, are acquired by those who are able to do so and are principally brought forth for festive occasions such as night dances. (Otherwise everybody goes barefoot nearly always.) By far the most indispensable of trade goods are the metal cutting tools for agriculture, without which the present economy of the Cayuá could little more be maintained than that of the whites.

Turning to the Cayuá products which find a market with the whites of the region, we note that at the present time some Cayuá normally sell or barter small amounts of their *kokué* production every year. Corn, principally the kind known to the Brazilians as *milho duro*, "hard corn" (Cayuá: *aBatí tupí*), is the item of largest sale. It is sometimes sold wholesale, relatively speaking, and not merely in small quantities at a time. Beans occasionally enter into Cayuá dealings with whites but not nearly so frequently as corn, nor usually on such a scale. Manioc and sweet potatoes, probably partly because they are not as easily stored in quantity, rarely are sold to whites except in small amounts for immediate consumption. These latter products do not go to the traders usually but to local settler families who live close by and who may be temporarily short as a result of a poor harvest or bad planning in their own *roças*. (Cayuá occasionally try to obtain similar products for the same reasons from local settlers.) A few Cayuá now plant rice, which is not a native plant. Although there would not be sufficient rice for themselves, did they consume much, the product is sometimes traded to the Neo-Brazilians. In connection with corn, at least, a significant number of Cayuá men, perhaps roughly half the total, occasionally (that is, not every year) plant with some intention of a storeable, tradeable surplus destined to the *bolichos*. The quantity is not large in most cases, however.

Besides agricultural products, only a few others enter occasionally into Cayuá-Brazilian trade and barter. These are wild honey, infrequently a hammock made of *caraguatá* cord, and woven split bamboo strainer-winnowers, which are called in Portuguese *peneiras* ("strainers"). Wild honey is gathered by the Indians primarily for their own use. In years of some surplus, or when a *patrão* or other Brazilian particularly requests honey, the Indians may trade small quantities of their take to local white settlers. Honey is locally considered to have peculiarly potent salutary properties and is hence in demand by Brazilians; it is also a great delicacy to the Indians. The hammocks, which are standard household furniture for the Cayuá, are not normally considered essential by local white settlers, but once in a while one may be in demand for resting purposes—much as we use them in the summertime.[100] Hammocks are

[100] Hammocks have a northern and equatorial rather than a southern distribution among the

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

not often made for sale, except upon specific order of some white. It is different with winnowing trays or strainers. All Brazilian households in the neighborhood, as well as those of the indigenes, pound their corn in wooden mortars and require these trays to sift fine corn from the coarser which needs more pounding. There is usually a well understood idea of price, according to the size and workmanship of the tray. Some Cayuá men consequently make them to be offered for sale or barter either directly to the settlers, or to the *bolichos* which may keep a small stock of trays on hand. This is a fairly durable article, however, so the extent of their use does not necessarily imply a large volume of production. Specialization in the manufacture of strainers has already been mentioned.

Considered as a whole, however, the trade of Cayuá products to white settlers or to the *bolichos* is both a much smaller and less regular avenue of commercial relations with the outside than the *changa*. The Cayuá is less sure of having both saleable merchandise and buyers for it than he is of having a demand for his labor. His labor is consumed in larger quantities, usually, than his products and hence ultimately provides him a larger part of the trade goods he requires. Furthermore, not every able-bodied Cayuá can make the winnowing trays, nor can their wives all make hammocks, and some do not seem able or interested in producing any surplus of agricultural products for barter. Cayuá production for barter or sale in most cases could best be described as only haphazard or casual. All those who receive more income from trade in Cayuá products than from *changa* are either non-peons or work very little in *changa*.

Economic exchange of the Cayuá of Taquapiri, both outside the village and internally, falls under the headings of "pure barter" and "money barter."[137] Pure barter is the exchange of goods for goods without reference to a common standard of value. Money barter, hence, is the exchange of goods for goods (and presumably also services for goods) in which there is a single general and uniform measure of value, money. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians in trade and *changa*, the Cayuá are now acquainted with an accepted money value of many of the commodities as well as the services they exchange. A *mão* of corn (sixty-four ears) is worth so much in money; to clear a *quarto* (roughly a quarter of an *alqueire*, the latter an area of 24,200 square meters) of relatively clean second growth (*capoeira* in Portuguese) is worth so many *milréis;* a winnowing tray of good manufacture and a given size is worth so much; and so

native peoples of eastern South America, and this trait, along with a number of others, is one argument for the northern or equatorial provenience of the Guarani-speakers of the south of Brazil and of Paraguay. In the north of Brazil, the hammock is in many places considered by Brazilians as a regular piece of sleeping equipment, and cotton hammocks are manufactured commercially for sale, especially in the states of Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Many hotels in the North are equipped with permanent hooks in the walls so that the guest can sling his hammock instead of using the bed, if he wishes.

[137] Gras, 1930.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

A consolidating factor, (I. g.) the development of an external market for small quantities of agricultural produce, is probably the most recent step to date in the increasing scale of agriculture. Even without trade, agriculture would likely have come to be practiced on nearly as large a scale as at the present time. Being able to trade small amounts of their corn and beans, and a few other crops, to the whites for white goods has merely further established the feasibility of agriculture as an adjustment to the new conditions the Cayuá face. Certain aspects of their culture other than farming may conceivably diminish through the gradual inculcation of Neo-Brazilian values in coming generations of Cayuá. Agriculture, however, at least as long as the present situation prevails, will be favored and enhanced by the very factors of acculturation.

Three other factors have aided the growth of Cayuá agriculture to a lesser degree, or indirectly. The decrease in game animals in the Cayuá region (I. d.) has had the effect of making agriculture as a source of daily bread somewhat more important through the consequent decline of hunting. The introduction of trade goods and of trading posts (I. e.) has tended further to establish the importance of agriculture. The Cayuá now know and desire trade goods, and one means of satisfying the desire is through trading agricultural produce for these goods. The development of an external market for Cayuá (male) labor, (I. g.), has perhaps also had some effect in solidifying Cayuá agriculture (though in some respects it has competed with agriculture). The type of work for which Neo-Brazilians employ Cayuá men in *changa* is usually agricultural. Moreover, it is specifically the same type of agriculture as that practiced by the Cayuá themselves. As far as operations, at least, are concerned, wage-work provides little or no alternative or change from own production and may have the reinforcing effect suggested.

II. A. b. "Hunting and gathering activities decrease in importance in the total economy." One acculturational cause of the decline of hunting and gathering activities has been (I. c.), the gradual and increasing territorial restriction of the Cayuá and their ultimate settlement on small reservations. Possibly this restriction was not drastic for settlement, as the Cayuá aboriginally were somewhat sedentary and built fairly substantial shelters that must have tended to confine their range. But nowadays, with legally defined possession of lands, it is not so easy as formerly to traverse the countryside for hunting and gathering without trespassing on the property of white settlers who object. The Cayuá reservations, furthermore—or at least those of some groups—are not near principal watercourses where there is access to canoe travel. Hence the people can no longer participate in such hunting and fishing activity as former mobility with the canoe presumably permitted.

The second main cause of decrease in hunting and fishing is (I. d.), the reduction of the aboriginal supply of game animals. This has occurred because of

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

work to be accomplished but for the individual to do it single-handedly." The efficiency of the modern Cayuá worker in agriculture has but a single important acculturational cause (I. b.), the introduction of metal cutting implements. Particularly important are the machete, the axe, and the hoe, as has been mentioned. Compared with whatever aboriginal substitutes, there can be little question of the much greater efficiency of these metal tools.

In some sense, however, the several factors making for an increase in agriculture were generally influential here; otherwise there might have been no occasion for the individual to increase his agricultural efficiency and productivity. Obviously the relationship is close, and the distinction herewith of a separate item, the efficiency of the worker, must be justified by its later application in the analysis.

II. A. d. "A loss or diminution of certain native industries." The loss of native industries is a common acculturational effect, and there are a number of common causes. The primary cause in the Cayuá instance is (I. e.), the introduction of trade goods. Particularly significant have been trade goods which will substitute adequately for aboriginal handicraft products. Among these, for example, are the iron pots, bottles, and tin cans which have so successfully all but killed the native ceramic industry. Weaving has suffered much with the introduction of machine-made textiles, obtainable at the *bolichos*, and has been handicapped also by the change to clothing styles for which store cloth is more adaptable than aboriginal loomwork.

At the same time, some white trade items, such as (I. b.), metal tools, have had a contrary effect. Knives and machetes particularly have made certain crafts easier, largely crafts where cutting or splitting processes are important. This is evident in the preparation of vegetable fibers for weaving and tying, or the splitting of rattan for baskets and strainers. Such technological improvement, however, has not appreciably counteracted the decline of native industries whose products find ready trade goods substitutes.

By extension, factors which have enhanced trade relations between the Cayuá and the Neo-Brazilians have contributed to the loss or decrease of native industries. Aboriginal handicraft industries have thus been adversely affected by (I. f.) the growth of an external market for male Cayuá labor. Moreover, besides providing one more way in which the Cayuá may obtain trade goods substitutes, the *changa* (II. A. e.) in many cases occupies a great deal of work time. Frequently much of the time remaining after his own agricultural work is completed is used by the Cayuá in *changa* for local whites. The *changa* thus occupies some of the time formerly devoted to handicrafts.

The development of a small market for certain Cayuá products, including craft items, has also influenced the status of Cayuá handicrafts. The effect of a market (I. g.), however, has been to some extent ambivalent. On the one hand, the modern emphasis, in agricultural production, of a surplus which can

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

177 182 439 be exchanged for trade goods has tended to cause a larger part of male working time to be spent in agriculture. On the whole, this must imply less emphasis on craft production. In addition, of course, the greater accessibility of trade goods through this means, as already mentioned, favors a lesser dependence upon Cayuá craft production.

177 182 439 285 286 But certain Cayuá craft articles themselves command a price on the part of the whites, and this has obviously tended to favor the corresponding skills. Very few Cayuá craft items are of interest to whites, actually, but strainers or winnowers and occasional hammocks, for example, are in some demand. Items traded to the whites are naturally those for which no suitable trade goods substitutes exist. The overall influence, however, of (I. g.) a small Neo-Brazilian market for Cayuá products has been to cut down craft production in some lines while it has favored craft production in the few items sometimes traded to whites. The net result is a decrease in the number of crafts—unless (as does not appear likely) new crafts, not known aboriginally, have been added to the Cayuá repertory. This concentrates remaining production in a smaller number of crafts.

177 182 464 648 439 II. A. e. "Labor relations with Neo-Brazilian settlers are established (*changa*), entailing dealings for white goods or for money, or in terms of it. (Incidentally, this is the most intensive and intimate present point of contact between the Cayuá and whites.)" The acculturational causes of the *changa* are primarily two: the introduction of white trade goods which the Cayuá learned to know and desire (I. e.), and (I. f.) the development of a market among the Neo-Brazilians for Cayuá male labor. In other words, the reasons for the development of the *changa* are that the whites had goods the Cayuá wanted, and labor was at the beginning about the only thing that the Cayuá could offer in return. The whites could use Cayuá labor in their agricultural production or forest extractive industries and came to desire and later even to demand a certain amount of work from the aborigines.

There is now some conflict with the *changa* in (I. g.) the existence of an external market for certain Cayuá agricultural and craft products. This market provides a possible alternative to wage work as a means for Cayuá to obtain white trade goods. Several Cayuá men have thus increased their plantings so as to be sure of a small crop surplus to exchange for trade goods. These individuals, as might be expected, include ones who rarely or never work in *changa*. Historically, however, the *changa* was probably developed and fairly well established before there was much question of a competing alternative method of obtaining trade goods. In other words, there was a regular white market for Cayuá services before any consistent white demand existed for Cayuá goods. This time relationship between conflicting acculturational factors naturally throws some light on the development of the *changa*.

The *changa* incidentally has tended to aid other trends in which white trade

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

goods and metal tools are significant, since it has been the commonest way for Cayuá to obtain trade goods. The following are instances: increased agricultural production (i.e. in providing metal tools) (II. A. a.), (II. A. d.) the decrease or loss of certain Cayuá crafts (i.e. in providing trade goods substitutes), and (II. A. f.) trade relations with Neo-Brazilians (since the *changa* involves dealings with whites for goods and sometimes for money). The *changa* also occupies a certain amount of work time and in this sense has tended to conflict somewhat with (II. A. a.) the development of agriculture. In the same way it is a factor in the decline of such activities as hunting and fishing (II. A. b.). But the *changa* has tended to reinforce the Cayuá in their own agriculture, on the other hand, in the sense that it usually involves the same type of (agricultural) work. It has not, therefore, necessitated habituation to a different set of skills which might conflict with agriculture. Moreover, habituation to agricultural operations may have been of considerable account in the past when the Cayuá man, we are led to believe, was not the farmer he is today.

II. A. f. "Trade relations with Neo-Brazilians are established and increase. These involve both (1) buying white trade goods, and (2) selling small amounts of certain Cayuá products." Several acculturational causes have favored the establishment of trade relations with Neo-Brazilians. Among the most important are the introduction of trade goods (I. b. and I. e.) which the Cayuá came to require, and (I. f.) the growth of a market for certain Cayuá goods, including a few craft products. The development of *changa* wage-work (II. A. e.) has fostered trade relations with Neo-Brazilians, and *changa* is now an important factor in the flow of goods and services. The development of aboriginal agriculture to a point where an occasional tradable surplus now exists (II. A. a.) has made possible the inclusion of certain agricultural produce in the limited two-way commerce between Cayuá and Neo-Brazilians.

SECONDARY EFFECTS OF ACCULTURATION

Having discussed II. A., primary or immediate effects of acculturation, we may turn to II. B., secondary or derived effects of acculturation. "Secondary Effects" are distinguished from "Primary Effects" as being on the whole less immediate in time to the conditions of white advent and less immediate in causal relation to these conditions. "Secondary Effects" are related through "Primary Effects" to the factors we have been treating as "Causes of Acculturation." "Primary Effects," therefore, are primary in the causal sense of the configuration under study, and "Secondary Effects" are in the same sense causally secondary or derived.

An example may suffice. The first "Secondary Effect" discussed below is (II. B. b.) "Individual economic differentiation." This effect is expressed both in the growing specialization of individuals in crafts and also in the increasingly clear alternatives for men of earning a living either in wage-work or, tradi-

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

224
226 Cayuá sets traps and snares in and about his roça to catch beasts which are preying on the crops.

A type of economic activity now quite important in a good num-
464 ber of cases is that which the Cayuá call by the southern Brazilian
648 colloquialism, *changuear* or *changar*, which means to hire oneself out to another for payment in money or in kind — in effect, a sort of peonage. This is the strongest point of economic contact of the Cayuá of Taquapiry with the neighboring whites, for many of whom the Indians work for several weeks or even months out of a year, making *roças* or in the production of *herva mate* (Ilex paraguayensis). (Mate is one of the most important and characteristic products of the region for the Brazilian inhabitants.) Peonage is somewhat seasonal and occasional for most of the Cayuá, although a few men manage to spend rather extended periods of time away from the village during many parts of the year. Although perhaps fewer individuals work for whites than hunt and fish, as a rule more time is spent in such service by those who work this way than is spent in hunting and fishing. A large number of individuals practically never serve as
[465] peons, however, and others do such work only very irregularly. Peonage is probably the most direct and obvious way of getting those things for which the Cayuá have come to depend upon the whites, knives and machetes, cloth and thread, salt, soap, iron pots, cooking
•439 grease, meat, hats, etc. There is very little demand for the products
648 of the Indians themselves, other than for their mere labor, and in such crude and unorganized markets as can be said to exist for the sale of Indian products the Cayuá almost inevitably come off second best at the hands of their white neighbors.

The most important parts of the woman's role in Cayuá economy,
462 beyond her ubiquitous household tasks of cooking, cleaning, and tending children and chickens, are those related to agricultural activ-
[482] ities. Woman is the burden-bearer *par excellence* of the Cayuá. The female, through the use of a tumpline carrying basket, constitutes the transportation system of Cayuá economy. The Cayuá woman
[241] also assists at many important points in the actual production of food in the *roça*, and can, as far as the division of labor goes, in the case of a widow or a divorcée, do almost any work except the heaviest of agricultural labor. This latter situation is not very frequent, however, and merely serves to show the range of the female economic role

/300 cont./

and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.). I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani, they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after crossing the Chaco plains.

/301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal objects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians. The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,

1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels. Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact position is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them, played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

/326 cont./

CG 175 567 72 CE 175 648 go in search of metal? The aforesaid Indian answered: "They do not understand that I am only telling them that they can go to the country of the Chané in nine days." While they were speaking with this Indian, the aforesaid Cheroçe, chief of the Chané, was conversing with a woman of his tribe who as a girl had been kidnapped by these Indians whose chief had taken her as his wife. She said that it was correct that from the last houses of the aforesaid Guarani only four days were required to go as far as Ytapua and that from there, according to what Cheroçe claimed, one could go to his country in three days. He knew the way very well, for he had been brought up over there, but up to the present he had had no news of his country. (Relación de Domingo Martinez de Irala, p. 350.)

These facts prove that well before García's adventure the Guarani raided the Chané territory and were already beginning to make slaves of its inhabitants.

CG 175 567 72 "When Guarani bands arrived on the slopes of the Andes, each one tried to occupy as strong a position as possible on the most craggy points. From there they began to make pitiless war on the natives of the region, treating them with such cruelty that they spared nobody and made their fodder of the unfortunates they captured. They made themselves so fearsome that numerous villages submitted to them without violence. With the slaves they took to serve them and with all the women by whom they had children they populated these frontiers, each one choosing the region which seemed best to him. These Indians are the ones we call Chiriguana in Peru today: they originate from the Guarani. They never went out from this country, either because of the great hardships and risks of the road or in order to keep in their power this land which they found consonant with their nature and taste. It is indeed very fertile, with large and marvelous valleys which are warm rather than cold; and it is crossed by deep rivers coming from the neighboring province of Charcas. In possession of this land, they CG made numerous /327/ warlike expeditions in it, ruining the plains to the north, the south, and the east. They killed more [266] than 100,000 Indians. In the beginning they used to eat them [439] in the feasts and drinking bouts which they celebrated, but

/327 cont./

they have not done it any more for some years and sell them to the Spanish for the shoddy goods the latter give them in exchange. Indeed, they consider it more profitable to sell them for objects they need than to eat them. Their cupidity is such that there is no year when they do not go out to make war in the plains, with great trouble and at the risk of their lives, solely to procure prisoners. Among these Indians there are some individuals so rich that in addition to clothes of cloth and silk they have silver dishes, a service which costs as much as 500 marcs. Without counting a great number of horses saddled and bridled, with good harnesses, and all kinds of weapons which they owe to the thefts and plundering they do in the course of these unjust and pernicious wars. Up to the present no one has been able to bridle their cruelty or stop the disorder and insolence of these people. They have committed many offenses and lacked respect for the royal Power, taking up arms against Francisco de Toledo, who was viceroy of this kingdom. Besides, they have killed and stolen from the Spanish and have inflicted outrages of all kinds on them, depopulating villages, killing and pillaging the fields and farms of the vassals of His Majesty who live on these frontiers of Tarija, Paspaya, Pilaya, Tomina, and Mizque, and the government of Santa-Cruz de la Sierra." (Díaz de Guzmán, pp. 30-31.)

"The Chiriguana (sic) live near these valleys (Tomina and Lagunilla) in warm mountains covered with trees where horses can scarcely walk. They are not natives of this country but foreigners come from Río de la Plata. The language is the same and does not differ from it in any way... The Indians toward whom they are most hostile inhabit a province behind these mountains, a very flat land lacking water, which is called Llano de Manso or the province of the Chané. These Chané are inoffensive people but of good tendencies, of a more congenial appearance and a better nature than the Chiriguana. The latter have eaten more than 60,000 of them, and I do not believe I am saying very many, for these plains were very heavily populated. At present there are only a few Indians, and as they have no one to defend them, these

[Francisco Horta]

6 /97 cont./

6i But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá
433 populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much
511 to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually
241 the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an
439 adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and
6i regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses
[464] similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas
the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural
production that is hardly enough for their own consumption,
compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry
or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

G To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze
621 from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and
433 distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all
648 the communities studied are characterized by being turned
464 toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna
177 try to place all of their production on the regional market
(leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also,
and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas,
where they find their principal source of income. We have
seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-
sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that
they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their
survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50
years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, al-
[171] though as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is
a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree,
when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are
also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily
assimilated by it.

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156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]